

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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REBUILDING RUSSIA. Main burden falls on women and older men, since war took heavy toll of male youths

Two Most Powerful Nations Seriously Divided

Relations Between Russia and U. S. Have Been Growing Steadily Worse

ALL informed people knew, even while the war was going on, that it would be a hard job to establish peace on a permanent basis. It was known that many serious issues would arise between the Russians, on the one hand, and the British and Americans, on the other. It could be foreseen that the effort to rebuild war-torn countries, to wipe out bitterness among foreign peoples, and to seek insurance against future wars would be long and tedious and discouraging.

As it has turned out, the postwar problems and issues confronting the world are even more difficult than had been anticipated. Relations between Russia and the Western nations have reached such a critical stage that another world conflict is being openly and frequently predicted. Talk of war in the immediate future is widespread.

Thoughtful persons view this threat to peace with a feeling nothing short of terror. They know that if another large-scale conflict should come, fought as it would be with atomic and other deadly weapons, it would bring unimaginable devastation, loss of life,

and human suffering. They realize that world conditions and problems after another war would be a great deal worse than they are now as a result of the recent struggle.

Sensible Americans, therefore, are determined to work as hard as they can, while there is still time, to help prevent a third world conflict. They are trying to find out insofar as possible just what Russia's foreign policies are aiming toward, what the Soviet government wants and what it is planning to do. These Americans are making an honest effort to see both the good and the bad in Russia, to compare her foreign policies with our own, and to see whether it will not be possible for these two great nations to live peaceably with each other for some years to come.

In the course of such an investigation, a number of questions come to the fore. We shall discuss some of these in the attempt to help our readers see more clearly the issues which are dividing Russia and the United States. The discussion is carried on in question-and-answer form. We hope that this article will serve as a starting point for further study, dis-

cussion, and informed participation among our readers in helping this country to shape wise foreign policies.

Is the Soviet Union in vital need of peaceful conditions in the world?

If the Russian government is concerned chiefly about the welfare of its people, it will try to avoid a major war at least for a number of years. That nation needs a long period of peace to raise the living standards of the people.

John Fischer, who has recently returned from Russia, describes in *Harper's* magazine the miserable conditions which exist in that country. We think we have a housing problem, but it is nothing as compared with theirs. In many cases, two or more Russian families live in a single room of a house or an apartment. Little repair work was done during the war, and most homes are badly run down. They are terribly cold in the winter. Furniture is scarce.

At best, the food of the Russian people is plain and without variety. In many parts of the country, families do not get enough to eat to keep them healthy. Most Russians are poorly

clothed and without any luxuries.

Before the war, living conditions in Russia were improving, but it will take a number of years for that country to recover fully from the conflict. Another war in the near future would make conditions even more desperate. The Soviet government is sensitive about the low standards of living in Russia. It would like nothing more than to bring these standards up to the level enjoyed in America.

In fact, the Russian people have been promised that, if they work hard, the industries of their country will catch up with ours in the next 20 or 25 years. Whether or not the Soviet leaders actually expect to achieve this goal, they do know that industrial progress in Russia depends on continued peace.

It is hard for Americans to realize the tremendous job which lies ahead of the Russian people. We may gain an idea of the task by imagining that foreign armies had advanced in the United States from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. The invasion of Russia was as great as that. Within the invaded area, farm lands were

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A METALLURGICAL PLANT at Mariupol on the Sea of Azov. The statue is of Lenin, "father of Communist Russia."

Russian-American Relations

(Continued from page 1)

damaged and machinery destroyed on a vast scale. Factories in most of the large cities were wrecked, railway lines torn up, thousands of villages and countless houses burned or blasted.

Does the fact that Russia needs peace mean that she will not make war on other nations?

We cannot be certain of this. Nations have often gone to war when it seemed that they had much to lose by doing so. At the time of World War I, Germany needed peace in order to continue the industrial progress she was making. But war-minded leaders came into control, and thought Germany could gain ground much more quickly by conquering her neighbors.

Similar conditions prevailed at the time of the Second World War. Germany was growing in military strength and industrial power, but the Nazis decided upon what they thought was an easy road to an enlarged empire. If they had devoted their fanatical energy to making Germany a peaceful, prosperous nation, the people of that country would have a high standard of living today.

But Germany, before both these wars, was not as desperately in need of peace as Russia is today. Moreover, the German leaders and people felt an urgent need to expand their territory in order to gain richer resources and greater "living space." Russia, on the other hand, has more territory in her possession than any nation in the world, and she has unlimited industrial and agricultural resources just waiting to be developed. Because of this, she may not push her foreign aims to the same fanatical extent that Germany and Japan did.

It is often said that the Russian leaders are afraid their country may be attacked. What are they really afraid of and why?

Russia's suspicions and fears have arisen largely from her past experi-

ence. Foreigners have invaded the country many times. John Fischer, to whom we have already referred, says:

"Naked plains stretch both east and west with no barrier to provide a defensible frontier. These plains have served as open highways for invading armies — Mongols, Turks, Polish, Swedish, French, and German — since the earliest record of Slavic history. Fourteen times since 1800, hostile troops have poured across the western borders; Minsk has suffered precisely 101 foreign occupations; Kiev has been sacked so often that its citizens have lost count."

Moreover, the Russian leaders remember what happened after World War I, when the Communist government was just getting started. British, French, and American troops invaded parts of Russia in an unsuccessful attempt to help those Russians who were against communism to overthrow the new government.

The Russians are convinced further that during the days preceding the opening of the Second World War, France and Great Britain tried to make a deal with Hitler by which Germany should maintain peace with the Western nations and turn toward Russia for conquest. Whether or not this is true, it is firmly believed by the Russians.

The Soviet leaders know that many Americans today are hostile to Russia, and that some of them are saying that since a war will come some time, we should attack the Soviet Union at once while we have the atomic bomb, and while presumably the Russians do not. Most Americans do not take this extreme position, but those who do create additional fear in the minds of the Russians.

The majority of Americans, on the other hand, are afraid of the Soviet Union. They do not believe it is likely that Russia will attack us directly, but they think she may invade a neighboring region and compel us to resist her. Hence, there is fear on both sides, and it is growing in intensity.

What are some of the steps which Russia has taken to provide for her defense and to strengthen her position?

The map on pages four and five shows the territory which Russia has taken over during and since World War II. It includes lands formerly held by Poland, Germany, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Japan. Most of these areas belonged to Russia before World War I and were taken from her in the peace settlement.

In addition to the territory she has taken outright, Russia insists that the nations along her western borders have governments which are friendly to her. She will not stand for a neighboring government which is unfriendly and which might, in case of war, take sides against her. The Russians argue that the lands of her small neighbors have been used time and again as bases from which to attack their country.

It is a fact, therefore, that the small nations next to Russia have lost a large part of their independence. To most people in the United States, and elsewhere, this seems to be a very bad situation. It is argued that the people of every country should be free, that

every nation which is prepared for independence should have it. It is said that this was one of the main objects for which the war was fought, and that it is outright aggression for any large nation to deprive others of their independence.

The Russians reply that any major power under similar conditions would do as they are doing. They say, for example, that if Mexico were hostile to the United States and had been used as a base for attack against this country a number of times, we would insist that Mexico should have a government friendly to this country. They contend that we would adopt the same policy toward the small countries around the Panama Canal if they should threaten our security. Whether or not this is true, the Russians think that it is.

Will Russia stop with these efforts to defend herself, or will she try to extend her territory and power still farther?

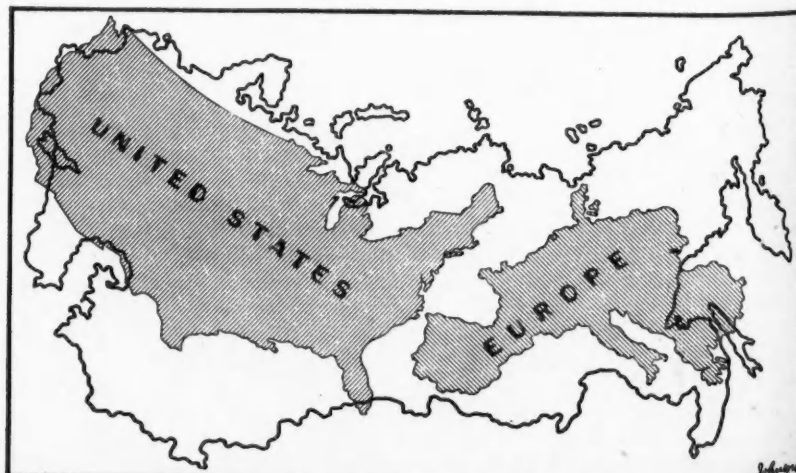
This is the all-important question. No one is certain of the answer. It is a well known fact that the Soviet officials, like our own, are divided on what their foreign policy should be. Some of them are much more extreme than others. Which group will win out remains to be seen.

Most Russian leaders, however, would like to accomplish, by one method or another, certain additional goals in the field of foreign expansion. They want to overcome Russia's present geographical weakness in not having sufficient outlets to the sea which are free from ice the year around. While they do not have the same burning urge that the Germans and Japanese had to acquire more territory for "living space" and resources, they have long desired to gain more water outlets for their vast land expanse.

Hence, they are trying to extend their control over the Dardanelles and to push out into the Mediterranean. Some observers are convinced that they will not be satisfied until they win a corridor through Iran to gain access to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The Russians point out that their desires in this respect are no different from those of the early Americans. They were not satisfied, it is argued, until they had extended their borders from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Thus, the Russians say, we should not try to keep their large country as landlocked as it is at present.

American leaders, on the other hand, point out that Russia cannot realize her ambitions along this line without taking territory from her smaller neighbors. They say Russia should



RUSSIA IS LARGER than the other European nations plus the United States



RUSSIA'S COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT has sought to change the feudal, agricultural Russia of the czars into a modern industrial nation

be content with United Nations guarantees that she can use the Dardanelles at all times, and can use other seas and waterways without interference.

Certain Soviet leaders are said to feel that they should use force without delay in achieving their water-outlet aims. Others, it is reported, contend that a policy of patience should be pursued, and that eventually Russia can accomplish her goals by peaceful means. Whether or not Russia will launch a war, therefore, depends upon which of these two groups comes out on top.

In what ways, if any, are British and American defense plans similar to those of Russia?

The Russians claim that their foreign policy and ours are much alike. They say that the United States and Britain have insisted on "friendly" governments in Italy and Greece. They claim that our country has used its influence to make sure that the governments of Latin American nations are favorable to us.

Moreover, the Russians argue that the United States insists upon having bases on islands which are thousands of miles from our shores; that we are keeping troops in China and taking sides in a civil war in order to maintain a government there which opposes communism and which is favorable to us; that we insist on practically a free hand in dealing with Japan, so as to establish our kind of government there and be certain that it is friendly to the United States. In addition, the Russians point out that two-fifths of our government spending is for military purposes.

The British and Americans deny that they have interfered with Italian independence. The British say that they have occupied Greece in order to prevent civil war and not to impose their will upon the Greeks. Americans will admit that for a while we used a certain amount of influence against the Peron government in Argentina, but it is pointed out that we did not adopt the forceful tactics which Russia has employed in eastern Europe, as can be seen from the fact that Peron continues in power.

As for China, it is contended, the United States is merely trying to prevent a prolonged civil war and to enable the people of that country to form a democratic government of their own choosing. Our leaders in Japan, continues the argument, are giving the people of that country a maximum of freedom in running their own political affairs.

What is Russia's attitude toward the United Nations?

It is an encouraging fact that Russia accepted membership in the or-

ganization. She might have refused to do this and, if she had stayed out, the UN would have had little chance to succeed. The Russians are going along with the organization and are at least willing that it should be kept alive.

But that country is suspicious of the United Nations. It is convinced that, on all important matters, most of the Latin American countries, the nations of western Europe, China, the Philippine Republic, and a number of other nations will follow the lead of England and the United States. Russia feels certain that she will always be outvoted when major issues come up in the UN, just as she has been thus far. For this reason, she will undoubtedly continue to insist on the right to veto any action of which she does not approve.

How does Russia's attitude toward the UN compare with that of the United States?

The United States, along with Russia, supported the idea of giving the veto power to each of the Big Five nations. It is doubtful whether we would have joined the UN if that organization could have called us into a war which we did not favor. Our country, moreover, does not have complete confidence in the ability of the UN to prevent war, and is acting in a number of ways to insure its own security until there is no doubt that the UN can keep peace.

Nevertheless, the United States appears less suspicious of the UN than Russia does, and would go farther in turning important questions over to

that organization for decision. One explanation may be that we have greater support in that body than the Russians do.

Has Russia shown a disposition to compromise on any important points since the war?

She gave up a claim which she made earlier for a base in Tripolitania, former Italian territory in North Africa along the Mediterranean. After fighting hard to award Trieste to Yugoslavia, she finally yielded to the American-British plan of placing it under UN control. She withdrew her troops from Iran and most of Manchuria at a time when their presence created a crisis. She has made other compromises of a minor nature, but she has stubbornly clung to her major goals.

Is Russia insisting that all the countries in eastern Europe under her influence establish communism?

In Finland, the people have decided against communism, and Russia is not interfering. In Czechoslovakia, a number of industries are being placed under government ownership, but the country is not going all the way to communism. The Czechs are maintaining considerable private ownership and political liberty. In Hungary and Austria, which are partly occupied by Russian troops, the people have voted against communism in special elections.

The Communists, on the other hand, are in control of Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia, but it is not clear

whether this is due entirely to Russian pressure. These countries have never been democratic. Their people have always been oppressed by the wealthy ruling classes, and it is possible that they would have turned to communism even if Russia had not interfered.

How do the United States and Russia disagree on the control of atomic energy and atomic warfare?

We discussed this issue in an article which appeared in the September 30 issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. It is clear that the plan put forth by the United States is much stronger and more sweeping than that favored by the Russians. Nevertheless, as we pointed out in the above mentioned article, there are compromises which the United States might afford to make in order to gain Soviet cooperation. If we make these concessions, it will then be up to Russia to show whether she will cooperate in a truly effective arrangement to control atomic energy.

Do Russian and American policies clash in the Far East?

This has not happened yet. Whether there will be a clash later we do not know. To date, the Russians have given the United States practically a free hand in Japan, and they have not seriously opposed the occupation of parts of China by American troops, or the "political activities" of a top-ranking American general (George Marshall) in that country.

The Russians have withdrawn from Manchuria, except from the ports of Dairen and Arthur, which have been placed under their control by the Chiang Kai-shek government. Furthermore, there is little or no evidence that they are giving support to the Chinese communists who have been fighting Chiang Kai-shek's government.

Does the fact that Russia and the United States have radically different systems of government and industry mean that they cannot get along peaceably together?

There is a difference of opinion on this point in both countries. Certain leaders in Russia and the United

(Concluded on page 5, col. 4)



BESSARABIAN VILLAGE. This community is in the province ceded to Russia by Romania after World War I

WIDE WORLD

Communism

How It Works

NO event in modern time has stirred greater controversy or has had a greater influence throughout the world than the Russian Revolution of 1917. It was more than an ordinary revolution in which one government is overthrown and another set up in its place. The Communist Revolution was an attempt to remake the entire nation, to destroy practically everything that had existed before.

The communists were able to seize power because Russia, under the czars, had lagged pitifully behind other great nations along the road of progress and modernization. Russia was the victim of century-old poverty, backwardness, oppressive rule, and destructive wars. It was these conditions, climaxed by the breakdown brought about by blows suffered in the First World War, which gave the communists their opportunity to overthrow the czarist regime.

Communism, as it has developed in Russia, is a system of government and industry and agriculture that runs counter to American traditions. Its outstanding feature is that all the instruments of production are owned by the government, and not by private individuals as in the United States.

The Soviet government is the great single employer of Russia, and pays its workers wages just as private employers do in this country. Wages there, as here, vary a great deal, according to the merit of the worker and the type of work he performs.

Government Is Employer

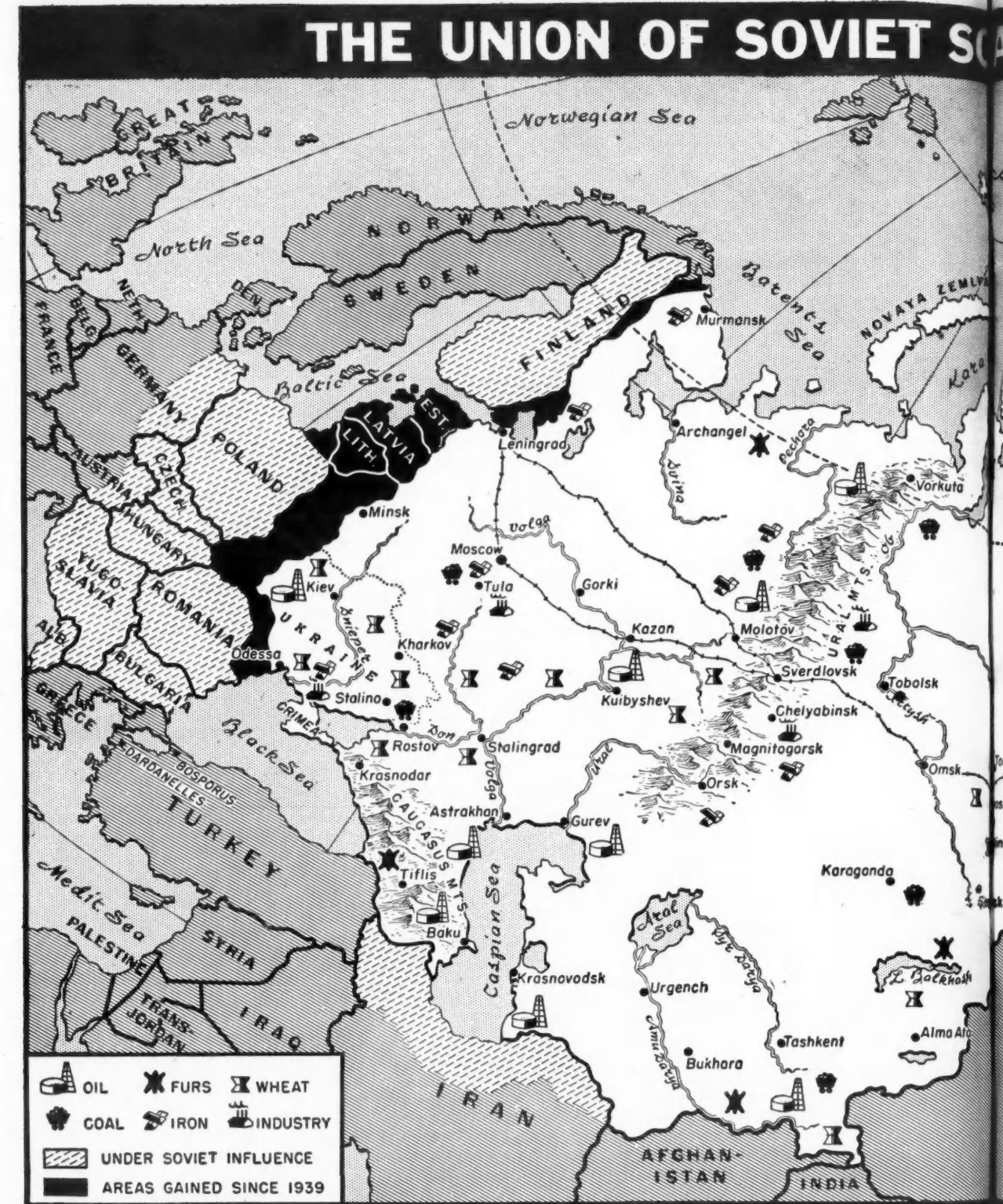
The Soviet government also owns large state farms, and pays wages to workers on these farms. The large majority of Russian farmers, however, are organized into so-called collective farms, which are run on a different basis from those owned outright by the government.

The members of the collective farms work together and share, according to the work they do, in the year's crops. The government takes over a portion of the crops for taxes and services which it has rendered to the collectives. The remainder of the produce is divided among the members and they can sell their shares on the market if they have any left over after meeting their own needs.

The only property that city workers may own is their houses and personal belongings. Each collective farm member may own the strip of land on which he lives, together with his house, a cow, a pig, and a few chickens. Nearly everything else is owned in common under government control.

The communists argue that public ownership is preferable to private for this reason: "Private owners will not produce any more of a given product than they can sell at a profit. That is why the farms and factories in capitalist countries, so much of the time, do not produce nearly as much as they are able to. Private owners do not pay high enough wages—do not share their profits sufficiently—to provide the mass of people with adequate purchasing power."

"Under communism, the government solves this problem. It is not thinking in terms of profit. It sees to it that factories and farms produce all they possible can. Then it pays



RUSSIA, STRETCHING ACROSS TWO CONTINENTS, has great natural wealth, but she also has two geographic weaknesses. She lacks a natural boundary in Europe, and she has few ports which are free from ice in the winter. To protect her open European border, Russia wants to maintain friendly governments in neighboring states. To gain warm-water ports, she wants to control

the people high enough wages to enable them to buy all that is being turned out."

Such, in brief, is the case put forth by the communists in favor of collective ownership of industry and agriculture. All but a very few Americans are opposed to such a system. We in this country believe that, in the long run, private ownership is a far greater incentive to hard work and initiative on the part of individuals than any plan of collective or government ownership.

Many agree that perhaps a system as drastic as communism was essential for the Russians, since they had lagged so far behind other modern peoples in industry, education, and living standards. But even they, it is argued, will strive for and demand the right to own property and their own businesses and farms as they become better educated and more advanced.

The big economic issue in our own country is over the extent to which there should be a working relationship between private industry and gov-

ernment in planning our economic life, but only a tiny minority of Americans favor a system of public ownership and operation similar to that in Russia.

Not only is the Soviet economic system drastically different from ours, but so is its political system. The Communist Party is the only political group allowed to exist in the Soviet Union, and it controls the government with unquestioned authority. No one whom the party opposes can hold office. Since party members include only a few million people, the destiny of the country is in the hands of a small minority.

In actual practice, that destiny is largely in the hands of one man, Josef Stalin, who is not only the leading figure in the Communist Party, but also official head of the Soviet government, as premier. Even before he became premier, Stalin, like Lenin before him, was the top man in Russia because of his position as secretary-general of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. This Political Bureau is made up of 14 men whose deci-

sions are law on all political matters.

On paper, the Soviet system offers the people of Russia a considerable degree of self-government. The Constitution of 1936, for example, provides for universal voting privileges to all citizens over 18 years of age. It guarantees freedom of speech, press, assembly, and conscience.

In practice, however, these guarantees are largely meaningless. It is true, indeed, that all citizens have the right to vote, but they must vote for the candidates who have won the stamp of approval of the party. And the other freedoms set forth in the Constitution are either limited or do not exist.

The Russian government is built on a pyramid of "soviets" (the Russian word for "councils"). For each of the thousands of communities in Russia, there is a soviet which acts as the governing body. These soviets handle local problems of all kinds.

The next layer of the pyramid consists of the governing bodies of the 16 republics which together make up

SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TODAY



...danelles. Once her defects of geography are corrected, friends of Russia say she will turn her attention to developing her minerals, agricultural riches, and her forests. Her critics, on the other hand, contend that the communist leaders have the same aspirations for world domination that the Germans have long had.

the Soviet Union, or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, official name of the country. Each of these republics has its soviet, with its commissars and committees to deal with regional problems.

At the top of the pyramid is the Supreme Soviet, which governs the country as a whole. It is composed of two chambers, the members of which are elected throughout the country. The Supreme Soviet appoints the Executive Committee of 40 members who carry out the policies and act as the cabinet of the government. As in the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, Josef Stalin holds the key position in the Executive Committee.

Despite all the elaborate forms of government, it is a fact that the Russian people enjoy very limited political freedom. They do have a certain amount of freedom in managing their

local affairs. They may express dissatisfaction with working conditions in factories or on farms. They may criticize inefficiency in government and bad management. But they do not have political freedom in the sense that we do; they cannot change top government leaders, such as Stalin and the men around him.

As for religious freedom, conditions have improved in recent years. The communists, who believe that church officials too often line up with those groups who oppose radical changes in government and industry, closed churches and carried on a relentless campaign against organized religion in the early years of the revolution. Today, however, the Russian people are permitted to go to church, and defenders, as well as critics, of religion are allowed to express themselves. But the communists themselves still criticize and oppose re-

ligion. They in turn are opposed by many religious groups.

The communists claim that when their system has had the opportunity of proving its "great merits," and when all the Russian people have been properly educated, the dictatorship will gradually pass away. Critics of communism contend, however, that so long as any government has such vast control over the lives of its people, it is certain to remain a dictatorship.

There is no question that Russia has made great industrial progress under communism. No nation, according to so well-known a capitalist leader as Eric Johnston, former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, has ever transformed itself from a primitive agricultural country into a modern industrial power more quickly than Russia.

In the years before the recent war, that country built enough factories,

power plants, dams, railways, and other industrial enterprises so that its people were getting in a position to enjoy more of the good things in life. Then when the war clouds gathered, Russia had to devote her main energies to preparing for the conflict. As we know, she built the most powerful land military machine the world has ever known.

But these outstanding industrial and military achievements have been made at a terrific cost. The government has been ruthless in stamping out opposition to its plans. Whole groups of the population, such as the wealthy landowners and large numbers of peasants who opposed the collectivization program, as well as owners of industrial property who fought against communism, were wiped out or imprisoned.

If peace is maintained and Russia continues to make industrial progress, she may extend greater political liberty to her people. At the present time, however, the dictatorship is being rigidly maintained. The communist leaders are in complete control of the big national and international policies.

U.S. and Russia

(Concluded from page 3)

States feel that a showdown between the systems of democratic capitalism and dictatorial communism will have to come sooner or later. They think that the competition and rivalry between the two systems can only lead to war.

Those who take this position say that Americans will constantly accuse Russians of trying to force their system on other countries, and Russians will accuse us of doing the same thing. This fighting back and forth is certain to bring a major conflict between the two nations.

Other leaders feel that there is no good reason why there must be a showdown between Russia and the United States. They point out that we never went to war with the czarist governments in Russia, and yet we disliked their methods as much as we do those of the communists. Moreover, the czars were working for warm-water outlets and pursuing other foreign policies similar to the communist program today.

Nations with conflicting systems and ideas can get along together peacefully, it is maintained, if they so desire. For example, the United States is working harmoniously with a number of Latin American governments which are of a dictatorial character.

The United States and Russia, continues the argument, must be made to realize that they have everything to gain by working peacefully together and everything to lose by waging war against each other. If this indisputable fact can be continuously brought home to the leaders of these two nations, it is argued, they may make a greater effort to settle their differences by compromise, reason, and negotiation. Both nations need to make every possible effort to understand each other's positions, and to arrive at compromises on controversial issues.

Weekly Digest of Fact and Opinion

(The opinions quoted or summarized on this page are not necessarily endorsed by THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

"Brazil Asks for Americans as Colonists," editorial comment, *Saturday Evening Post*.

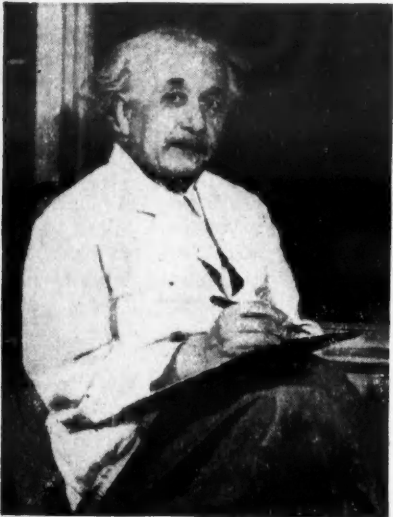
Brazil has recently invited farmers and technicians from the United States to come to Brazil to live. In southeastern Brazilian states, there are fertile lands for farming, as well as timber and undeveloped water power for industrial use. The suggestion has been made that immigrants come in groups in order "to establish a community life, with stores, schools, and other essentials."

Colonization has proved its value through many decades. Great Britain, Germany, Italy and other countries have been colonizers. In fact, the United States was developed largely in this manner. During the 19th century, Europe invested many of its peoples and much capital in this country. The successful results are evident to all the world. Not only have we benefited, but the mother countries have enjoyed more trade with the United States.

American colonies in Brazil would stimulate trade between the two countries. Our settlement of favorable localities would advance Brazil's economic development and enable her to purchase goods we wish to sell. Before Brazil's recent invitation, many American economists had advanced this idea, but we were not certain Americans would be welcome. Now Brazil has asked us to come. Why not accept?

"Big Three Competing in Germany for Scientists and Secrets," *World Report*.

The United States, Great Britain, and Russia are competing for the German scientific and industrial skill which a short time ago gave the Nazis



ALBERT EINSTEIN is one of many German-born scientists who came to this country and enriched our science. Russia and the United States are competing now to gain access to the scientific knowledge accumulated in Germany during the war.

supremacy in Europe. So far Anglo-American teams have collected many secrets, but the Russians have made off with a large number of the scientists who developed the ideas.

Forty thousand blueprints of German industrial products have already reached Washington. Many more thousands are enroute. Some of the products can be adopted by small man-



AN AMERICAN BOAT on the Amazon River. Brazil is encouraging Americans to settle in her country and help develop its resources. Two of Brazil's leading products, coffee and rubber, are important to the U. S.

ufacturing concerns. The list includes such items as these:

A night-seeing device, using infrared rays, which is powered by a flashlight battery. Radio tubes one-fourth the size of American tubes. A color-film process that uses ordinary black and white methods of exposure, developing, and printing. Sound recording that uses metalized plastic tape instead of wire tape. New dyes for cotton, wool, rayon, and nylon.

It is not known how many new inventions Russia has secured from Germany, but included among the German scientists now working for her are two former Nobel prize winners. Nobel prize winners in the physical sciences are believed to be serving Soviet purposes in eastern Germany.

"Democracy's Advantages Are on Trial," editorial comment, *Detroit News*.

An America Speaks poll indicates a large majority of popular approval behind the State Department plan to "sell" democracy abroad. The sentiment probably rises from the common belief that a great world-wide contest of political and economic systems is under way, and that we must send out active propaganda for democracy.

The cross section of Americans polled were asked to state "the greatest advantage" of our type of government. The answers were varied, but most cited some kind of freedom or another, which we enjoy in this country.

Freedom is a boon, certainly. But it is an idea, whose chief value is found in the realm of the mind and spirit. It makes no direct contribution to physical well-being and we are afraid that most peoples, and especially those with the least experience of freedom, will tend to consider that form of government best which promises the most of material comfort and security.

We think the main reliance for saving a large part of the world for democracy must be in extending such aid as will enable the world quickly

to get back on its feet economically. Relieved of distress and given hope of a good life, materially speaking, people will turn naturally toward democracy, because the desire for freedom, given half a chance, is instinctive.

We would not neglect the propaganda. But we think it might be wasted if those invited to contemplate the blessings of democracy are asked to do so on empty stomachs and with their futures beset by uncertainty.

"We Can't Afford Slums," editorial comment, *Christian Science Monitor*.

For a long time sociologists have been pointing out that most criminals come from slums. Their words have fallen on deaf ears until recently when city welfare departments have figured in dollars and cents what it costs taxpayers to keep slums.

Milwaukee found it cost 50 times as much to maintain the many prisoners from the worst blighted area as it did to keep those from the city's best-developed residential ward. New York had produced similar figures a few years ago.

Cleveland spent two million dollars in prison costs and police protection on one slum area. This area actually contained only 2.5 per cent of the city's population and yielded only \$225,000 in revenue. It was costing non-residents of the area \$1,750,000. That same small area was responsible for 21 per cent of Cleveland's murders and 8 per cent of its juvenile delinquency.

These figures show that there are economic reasons, as well as sociological and humanitarian reasons, for doing away with slums. Slum-clearance will help city budgets as well as city morale.

"Sports in Russia," by J. Alvin Kugel-mass, *This Week*.

Since the end of the war, tens of millions of Russians have been participating in everything from ping-pong to pole-vaulting, from corn-husking to boxing. The revival of sports

is watched with interest by Western world athletes planning to enter the Olympic games in 1948. Reports indicate the Soviet Union might run away with top honors.

Clockings of runners and jumpers show most Soviet performances still under United States records, but one high jumper leaped over a bar five inches above the world's record mark. A discus thrower named Ljakhov bettered the international throw by about 10 feet. Nina Dumbadze, a girl athlete, threw the discus 19 feet beyond the women's world record.

More than 100,000 Soviet fans attended a soccer game between the Red Army team and the Moscow "Dynamos." Baseball diamonds on the steppes see rivalry between teams of be-fezzed sheep-herders. Wrestling, boxing, and racing rules are patterned after our own. The Norwegians, with whom the Russians have lately been competing, say the Russians can beat any nation in the world in ski jumping and speed skating.

"New Weapons for the Fire Front," by A. G. Hall, *American Forests*.

Weapons designed for war will soon be used to combat forest fires. New inventions promise more rapid control of flames and may do much to remove fire-fighting from its classification as a hard, dirty job.

Planes will be used extensively. With a loudspeaker device which the Army used to direct ground operations from the air, the forest ranger can fly over the countryside warning brush burners and picnickers of fire danger and directing ground crews.

Air photography will permit firemen to work with greater accuracy. Water bombs to extinguish fires and explosive bombs which scatter earth over the blaze may be dropped from planes. The helicopter may be used to carry men and equipment.

An artificial fog blanket, used by the Navy for camouflage purposes, will smother fire by lowering its temperature and cutting off its oxygen.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey

WHY was it that the English proved to be such good colonizers? Why did they succeed better at this work than the Spanish, the French, or the Dutch? Why did it happen that they not only established strong colonies in North America, but built a great empire, stretching around the earth?

These questions have often been discussed and many different answers are given. We shall consider here only one of the explanations. England, because of her island position, felt that it was necessary to develop great naval power. She built and maintained a strong naval force and was thus in a position to defend and maintain her colonies.

This was not an easy job and it was not done quickly. There were long years of fighting before the English established themselves as superior to Spain on the seas. There were years of rivalry with the Dutch, and it was not until the period of the Napoleonic wars that English sea power gained a definite and permanent dominance over the French navies.

During the nineteenth century, the English navy was the strongest in the world. The boast that "Britannia rules the waves" was justified. Early in the 20th century, Germany challenged the British on the seas, but during the First World War, English naval power again proved second to none.

It was not until our own time that the British lost first place in naval strength. After the First World War, the United States Navy came to equal that of Britain, and during the Second World War, the American Navy gained undisputed dominance. Our power upon the sea now far surpasses that of the British.



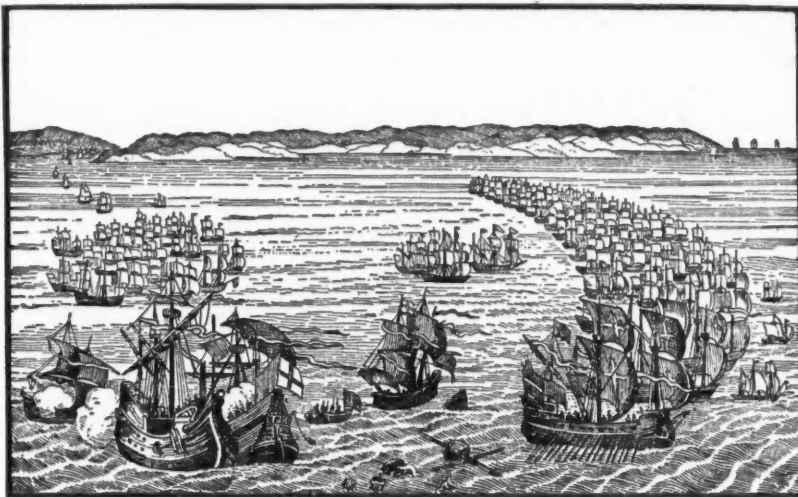
David S. Muzzey

This fact of itself is not so serious for Great Britain. In any war of the future—any war which might threaten the British empire—America and Britain are far more likely to be allies than enemies. The British are, therefore, not greatly disturbed by their loss of first position on the seas to us.

Another development, however, calls for more serious consideration. In the future navies will not play the commanding part in war that they have in the past. Wars will probably be fought chiefly with atomic bombs, germs, long-range bombers, rockets, and other new devices. No one nation can defend itself against these.

It is not likely that Great Britain ever again will have the monopoly of an instrument of warfare as decisive as navies have been. If she is to hold her empire together she must rely increasingly upon the justice and skill of her colonial administration. The English have always been successful colonizers. They must build upon, and improve, this record.

If Britain is threatened by force from the outside, she, like other nations, must depend less than in the past upon her own power, and more upon the United Nations for defense.



ENGLAND established herself as a leading naval power when she defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588. The drawing above shows the navies of the two nations preparing for the showdown battle.

Weekly Study Guide

U. S. and Russia

1. What evidence is there to indicate that Russia is in need of prolonged peace?
2. Why might she not pursue her foreign aims to the same fanatical lengths that Germany and Japan did?
3. Why are the Russian leaders afraid that their country may again be attacked?
4. What fears do the American people have of Russia?
5. Briefly review the steps which Russia has taken and is continuing to take in the effort to make herself secure against the danger of foreign attack?
6. Give one reason why Russia may seek to expand her territory still more.
7. According to the Russians, how are American and British foreign policies similar to theirs?
8. Has the Soviet government forced all the countries in eastern Europe to adopt communism?
9. Are American and Russian policies clashing in the Far East at the present time?
10. Has Russia shown a willingness to compromise on any important foreign matters since the war ended?
11. What are the two views with respect to whether communistic Russia and democratic America must inevitably have a showdown?

Discussion

1. Do you or do you not feel that there is hope of preventing war between Russia and the United States? Give your reasons.
2. What, if anything, would you change in our foreign policy in the effort to get along better with Russia and yet not sacrifice any of our important principles?
3. Do you think that you are doing everything you can to inform yourself on the Russian problem and to help shape an intelligent public opinion on this vital matter?

Miscellaneous

1. What were the so-called squatters in England trying to achieve?
2. Is the Japanese Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliated with the American CIO?
3. What is the Morgan Line in the Trieste area?
4. What areas of the world would benefit most by atomic power plants?
5. What characteristic has distinguished Fiorello LaGuardia from many other public leaders?

References

- "Behind Soviet Foreign Policy" by Max Eastman. *The American Mercury*, September 1946. A writer who some years ago was among the pro-Soviet school of thinkers feels that we are appeasing Russia and that we should cease doing so.
- "Three Roads To War," by A. A. Berle, Jr. *The American Magazine*, August 1946. The former Assistant Secretary of State tells what he thinks the chances are that Russian and the western nations can live at peace.
- "Cooperative Russia," by Alice R. Craemer. *Current History*, September

1946. A well written article showing how Russia, during the period that Maxim Litvinov was Foreign Commissar and Ambassador to the United States, tried to be cooperative in preventing aggression throughout the world.

"The Riddle Of Russia," by George Soloveytschik. *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1946. A Russian-born English citizen tells what to read about Russia in order to gain a better understanding of the people and policies of that country.

Pronunciations

Archangel—ark ayn' juhl
Baku—bah koo'
Caucasus—kaw' ka sus
Crimea—cry me' ah
Dnieper—nee' puh'r
Kief—kee' yef
Kuibyshev—kwee' bi shef
Magnitogorsk—mah ni to gorsk'
Murmansk—moor' mahnsk'
Sakhalin—sah kah leen'
Vladivostok—vlah' di vos tok'

Get Acquainted with Yourself

By Walter E. Myer

Is a person more likely to succeed if he underrates or if he overrates himself; if his opinion of himself is too low or too flattering? I have heard that question discussed many times, but I have never heard it convincingly answered.

The fact is, of course, that one is at a disadvantage in either case. It is far better that one should be realistic in sizing himself up; that he should know about where he stands and where he rates and that he avoid the extremes of undue humility on the one hand and conceit on the other.

There are many people who are intelligent enough, but who do not think well enough of themselves. They feel inferior. They scarcely expect to succeed, or to do anything as well as other people do.

Such individuals are not diseased mentally. They are not abnormal. But, either because of a natural timidity, or because of some phase of early training or environment, they have not developed self-confidence. Unless they overcome the tendency to under-rate themselves, they are likely never to realize their possibilities. They do not strive for really first-rate achievements. They stand back when opportunity knocks at their doors. They are satisfied with mediocre positions in life.

There are many, of course, who err on the side of overconfidence. They

Dad wrote to his son at college: "I'm sending you the \$10 in addition to your regular allowance as you requested in your last letter; but I must again draw attention to your incorrect spelling: '10' is written with one naught, not two."

A doctor received an urgent telephone call from a father who said his small son had swallowed his fountain pen. "I'll come at once!" cried the doctor. "What are you doing in the meantime?" "Using a pencil," came the answer.

Conductor: "Madam, you'll have to pay for that boy."

Lady: "But I never have before."

Conductor: "That doesn't matter to me. He's over 12 years old, and you'll have to pay his fare or I'll put him off the car."

Lady: "What do I care? I never saw him before!"

Candidate: "I want to assure you, fellow citizens, that I have constantly labored in your behalf to the best of my ability."

Heckler: "We know it. That's why we want someone with more ability."

"When water becomes ice," asked the professor, "what is the greatest change that takes place?"

"The price, sir."

Visitor: "How many students are there in the university?"

Guide: "About one in every five."

Foreman: "So you want to quit us. Don't the wages suit you?"

Pat: "The wages are all right, but I feel guilty for cheating a horse out of a job."

Judge: "Give the court your name, occupation, and state the charge against you."

Defendant: "My name is Sparks, I am an electrician, and I am charged with battery."

Judge: "Officer, place this man in a dry cell."



Walter E. Myer

are egotistical. They think too highly of themselves. They may get on fairly well, at least at the start, for they are always pushing themselves forward; always seizing every opportunity for advancement.

These individuals, however, being easily satisfied with their efforts, and not being able to judge their abilities, are likely to be superficial and to tackle jobs which they cannot finish; to undertake work which they are not prepared in training or will power to handle successfully. Furthermore, they are likely to be unpopular.

Each person should understand that his own estimation of himself may be far from the truth. He should sit down calmly and think things over; should try honestly to compare his abilities and achievements with those of his friend. Each person should try to view himself objectively.

If you do this, your next job is to use your powers. Avoid vanity, but develop a justified self-confidence. Conquer either timidity or egotism, whichever the case may be. Avoid overconfidence, but do not stand back when things are to be done.

The Story of the Week

Squatters in London

In recent weeks, Britain has been confronted by an alarming reminder of her housing problem. Groups of ill-housed Londoners simply moved into unoccupied apartment buildings without benefit of leases, rent payments, or anything else. Ignoring landlords and policemen alike, these "squatters" refused to come out unless forced to do so.

This situation has been particularly hard to handle because of the political setting in which it came about. The squatters were led by Communists who started the campaign in order to embarrass Britain's Labor-Socialist government. They hoped to force the government to take harsh action against the squatters—a course which would hurt its reputation as the friend of the poor man.

The fact that the Communists are unpopular in Britain has not made the problem easier for the government. Almost everyone sympathizes with the squatters because of the hardships which large numbers of British people are enduring in the housing shortage. Even those who denounce the Communist leaders of the squatters are critical of the government. Many feel that it has done too little to meet the widespread need for homes.

Japan's CIO

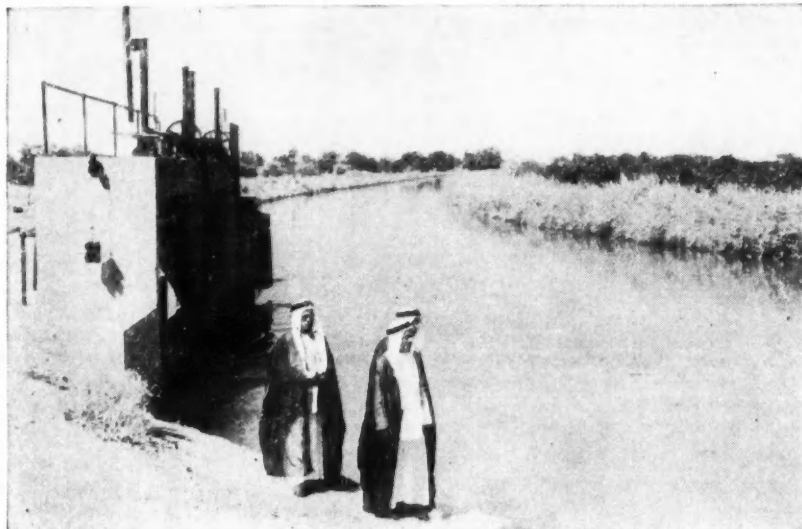
Like the United States, Japan has been struggling with a wave of strikes in recent weeks. Railway workers, seamen, miners, and workers in many other industries have left their jobs in great numbers, seriously disrupting Japan's already shaky industrial system.

The strikes can be explained in part by the people's dissatisfaction with their living conditions. Food shortages, unemployment, and insufficient housing have contributed to the general discontent.

Other reasons for the strikes are



HER FIRST SHOES in six years. She could get them only after a national drawing was held to determine who should get the first shipments of badly needed footwear sent to Japan after the war.



SAUDI ARABIANS study a vast irrigation system that has made some of the arid regions of Arizona a rich farming area. The Arabs hope to install similar projects in their native land, which is largely desert.

political. The unions, which had no power at all before Japan's defeat, are eager to show their strength in the new, democratic Japan. Furthermore, many of them are using the strikes as weapons against the government. The cabinet of Premier Yoshida is conservative, and most organized workers do not think it is introducing enough reforms. Japan's Congress of Industrial Organizations (similar to the American CIO but not affiliated with it) has admitted that its aim is to force the Yoshida government out of office.

Europe's Powder Keg

Trieste, the picturesque Italian port at the head of the Adriatic Sea, is often referred to as a "powder keg." British and American troops occupy the city itself and some of the area surrounding it. Yugoslavian troops occupy the rugged mountains a few miles to the east of the city. Between them lies only a thin barrier, the Morgan Line, established when the opposing forces met in their race to get to Trieste as the war in Europe ended.

Estimates of the actual number of troops in the area indicate that the Yugoslavian forces are considerably larger than are the Anglo-American forces. Some time ago there were said to be at least 10 Yugoslavian divisions east of the Morgan Line. Farmers in the area say that this number has been increased. We are said to have two divisions on our side of the line, but we have frequently sent naval vessels into the port to increase our strength.

Skirmishes have taken place when individual soldiers from one side or the other wandered into the no-man's land along the Morgan Line; but up to this writing no major fighting has developed. All peace-loving citizens hope that the argument over the city of Trieste, and the related issues of debate between East and West, can be settled before a spark is set off and the armed forces come together in a real battle.

Atomic Power Plant

The American members of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission have told their fellow members

that it is possible to build a \$25,000,000 atomic-power plant which will use atomic heat to make steam and then use the steam to turn wheels for producing electricity. It is true that in our country at the present time we can produce current more cheaply by burning coal, but in many parts of the world the atomic electric plant could be used to great advantage.

Nations which lack coal, oil, and waterpower would be delighted to have atomic electric plants. The little fuel required by such plants can be carried anywhere with no trouble at all, so it will be possible to build busy manufacturing towns in remote and backward areas. If nations can get power so easily, perhaps they will stop trying to take coal fields and oil lands away from one another, and in this way atomic power may work for peace.

Before nations can participate in the use of atomic power, however, they must find out how to produce it, and that secret at this time is in the possession of the United States. Work with atomic energy can be hastened if a plan for international control is agreed upon.

Fortifying Guam

Before the Second World War there was a great deal of argument as to whether or not we should fortify Guam, our barren little outpost 1,500 miles east of the Philippines. Now we are planning to build a large naval base on that island, but in doing so we shall have to guard against typhoons.

The word typhoon comes from a Chinese word meaning "great wind." Many of these fierce, whirling winds arise in the China Sea, and they are violent throughout the neighborhood of the Philippines. The harbor at Guam must be protected from the great waves they will hurl against it.

In an unused airplane hangar in California, the Navy has built a large model of the harbor. It shows every detail of the seven-square-mile area of Guam's harbor.

The model is 120 feet long and has a concrete bottom with steel sides two feet high. When it is finished, it will have beaches of real sand. At that time, it will be flooded, and wave machines, operated by air, will show on a small scale just what the waves will

do to the harbor in Guam when they are lashed into fury by the typhoon. It will then be possible for engineers to work out protective devices for this important Pacific base.

LaGuardia's Future

The fact that the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) will finish its activities this winter leads to speculation concerning the future of its Director General, Fiorello LaGuardia. Those who know him cannot believe that he will remain inactive long after his present job is finished.

His colorful political career has included such positions as Congressman during most of the time from 1917 to 1933; mayor of New York City from 1934 to 1945; and director of UNRRA during recent months.

In public life, LaGuardia has been an independent. He has had the support of almost all political parties—from the Socialists to the Republicans.



Fiorello LaGuardia, head of UNRRA

In his action, he has not followed any one party or school of thought.

LaGuardia has followed this same policy while head of UNRRA. During his inspection tours of various countries, he has not hesitated to make criticisms when he felt that UNRRA relief was being misused or mishandled, but he has shown balance and fairness at all times. For example, he has attacked Russia's policies with respect to UNRRA, and yet he has written several articles expressing sympathy for the suffering being endured by the Russians as they rebuild their war-torn land.

Wallace Controversy

President Truman's removal of Secretary of Commerce Wallace from his Cabinet has sharpened debate on foreign policy. Mr. Wallace is presenting his views to the nation, and continued discussion of the issues he has raised may be expected.

It is too early to predict what effect, if any, the debate will have on our international relations, or how it will influence the November Congressional elections. The conflict may split the Democratic Party. Whether a division will also appear in the Republican ranks is uncertain.

Mr. Wallace still insists that our government is not negotiating with Russia wisely and fairly. President Truman, however, has shown his confidence in Secretary of State Byrnes' dealings with the Soviet government.